

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 L-01

INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 OES-03 SP-02 RSC-01 /053 W

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R 250955Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9193

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 1115

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, IT

SUBJECT: ITALIAN RATIFICATION OF NPT

REF: (A) STATE 14577; (B) ROME 1037; (C) STATE 9355;

(D) ROME 0696

SUMMARY: EMBASSY IS CONVEYING TO ALL APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF FOREIGN MINISTRY US VIEW THAT TIMELY GOI ADHERENCE TO NPT COULD CONTRIBUTE IMPORTANTLY TO NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORT, MAKING NOTE OF USG CONCERNS RE POSSIBLE GOI RESERVATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN CONNECTION WITH PNE'S. EMBASSY REVIEW OF NPT STATUS IN GOI INDICATES THAT PNE

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OPTION MAY BE ROUTE GOI IS CHOOSING,BUT THAT ARTICLE 25

(B) PLOY IS NOT NECESSARILY DEAD. IF PNE RESERVATION SURFACES AS FIRM GOI POSITION, EMBASSY WOULD NEED GUIDANCE ON IMPLICATIONS, LEGAL AND MULTILATERAL, THEREOF. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT GOI BE INFORMED AT APPROPRIATE MOMENT AS TO ITS POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION AT REVIEW CONFERENCE SHOULD IT NOT HAVE BECOME PARTY TO NPT AT THAT POINT. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY IS IN PROCESS OF CONVEYING TO ALL APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF FONMIN THE USG VIEWS (REF. A) ON TIMELY, UNRESERVED GOI ADHERENCE TO NPT.

2. IN MEANTIME, EMBASSY HAS REVIEWED ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO IT CONCERNING ITALIAN INTENTIONS REGARDING THE NPT. THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLE POINTS EMERGE.

3. ALTHOUGH FOREIGN MINISTER RUMOR ON JANUARY 23 (REF. B) REAFFIRMED GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO SUBMIT NPT TO PARLIAMENT FOR RATIFICATION QUOTE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE UNQUOTE AND RECOMMENDED PROMPT RATIFICATION OF THE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT, THERE IS VERY LITTLE NEW IN HIS WORDS. EXCUSES AND DILATORY TACTICS WHICH HAVE MARKED GLACIAL PROGRESS TO DATE COULD REEMERGE. A SUCCESSFUL ARTICLE 25 (B) WAIVER PLOY WOULD, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, LEAVE ITALY WITH RELATIVELY FEW NUCLEAR CONSTRAINTS UNTIL IT GOT AROUND TO RATIFYING THE NPT. SINCE THERE IS A BODY OF EVIDENCE, ADMITTEDLY NEBULOUS, THAT THIS WOULD BE THE OPTION OF AT LEAST A FEW SENIOR ITALIAN OFFICIALS IN THE ABSENCE OF COMPELLING DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES, WE WONDER IF THE WAIVER PLOY IS DEAD. EMBASSY HAS BENEFITTED FROM PRIOR REPORTS FROM MISSION TO IAEA VIENNA AND OTHER CAPITALS, AND WOULD APPRECIATE BEING KEPT INFORMED, PARTICULARLY AS TO IF AND WHEN OTHER EC STATES, AND PERHAPS CANADA AND USSR, CONVEY TO THE GOI THEIR DOUBTS ABOUT THE WAIVER PROCESS.

4. DEPENDING ON WHETHER A 25 (B) WAIVER TRY IS DEFUNCT, AN ITALIAN RESERVATION, QUALIFICATION OR INTERPRETATION REGARDING PNE'S LOOKS TO BE UNDER PREPARATION AS A PRIMARY OR A FALL-BACK POSITION. WE ARE USING ARGUMENTATION FROM PARAS. 10 AND 11 OF REF. C WITH FONMIN OFFICIALS. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, WE NOTE THAT COUNSELOR NITTI (DISARMAMENT) TOLD EMBOFF (REF. D) THAT THE DRAFT LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE FOR SUBMISSION
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OF NPT TO PARLIAMENT QUOTE WOULD ENTAIL NO CONDITIONS OR RESERVATIONS GOING BEYOND GOI ON-THE-RECORD INTERPRETATIONS AND STATEMENTS MADE IN CONJUNCTION WITH GOI'S SIGNATURE OF NPT IN 1969 UNQUOTE. RUMOR SLIPPED THE SAME THOUGHT INTO HIS FEBRUARY 23 SPEECH (PARA. 2, REF. A), LEADING US TO ASSUME THAT GOI MAY INTEND TO GO NO FURTHER WITH A RESERVATION OR INTERPRETATION THAN IN ITS NOTE (JANUARY 28, 1969) ON SIGNING THE NPT.

5. RELEVANT PORTIONS OF 1969 NOTE APPEAR TO BE AS FOLLOWS
(IN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION). THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT:

-- TAKES DUE NOTICE OF THE FACT THAT THE INDISPENSABLE
NECESSITY FOR FREEDOM IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH BE IN NO WAY DEBARRED BY THE TREATY.
-- NOTES THAT THE PROHIBITIONS OF ARTICLES ROMAN ONE/
ROMAN TWO OF THE TREATY... REFER ONLY TO NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE
DEVICES WHICH ARE NOT DIFFERENTIATED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS;
AND THAT AT SUCH TIME AS TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS PERMITS THE
DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL EXPLOSIVE DEVICES DIFFERENTIATED
FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE PROHIBITION ON THEIR FABRICATION AND
USE WILL NO LONGER APPLY.

6. RELEVANT FILES BEING RETIRED, THE EMBASSY IS NOT CLEAR
AS TO THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE STATEMENTS. ASSUMING THAT
THE SUBJECT MAY AGAIN SURFACE IN CONNECTION WITH ITALIAN
ADHERENCE TO THE NPT, THE EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE BEING
INFORMED AS TO THEIR EFFECTS--LEGAL, POLITICAL, PRAGMATIC
AND OTHER--FOR POSSIBLE USE VIS-A-VIS THE GOI.

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ACTION ACDA-10

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 1115

LIMDIS

7. EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THAT, PURSUANT TO A 1968
DECISION WITHIN THE EC, THE FRG, BENELUX AND ITALY ARE
COMMITTED TO SIMULTANEOUS DEPOSIT OF INSTRUMENTS OF
RATIFICATION TO THE NPT. FURTHER UNDERSTAND THAT THE FRG,
AND PERHAPS OTHERS, HAVE BEEN EXPLORING POSSIBLE MEANS OF
BREACHING OR OUTFLANKING AGREEMENT TO DEPOSIT CONCURRENTLY
UNDER THE ASSUMPTION ITALY WOULD NOT ADHERE IN TIME FOR THE
MAY 5 REVIEW CONFERENCE. AGAIN FOR POSSIBLE USE WITH GOI,
EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED AS TO OTHER NATIONAL
REACTIONS TO RUMOR'S FEBRUARY 23 UNDERTAKING. PARTICULARLY,
FOR EXAMPLE, WILL FRG AND OTHERS BE ENCOURAGED TO WAIT OR
PRESS FOR ITALIAN RETIFICATION PRIOR TO REVIEW CONFERENCE,
OR WILL THEY TAKE THE PRESSURE OFF GOI BY MOVING TOWARD
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DEPOSIT OF INSTRUMENTS AHEAD OF ITALY? HOW WOULD THEY REACT
TO A GOI RESERVATION ON PNE'S?

8. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED THAT GOI OFFICIALS SEEM TO
TAKE IT AS AN ARTICLE OF FAITH THAT, EVEN FAILING TIMELY NPT
RATIFICATION, ITALY WILL BE REPRESENTED AT REVIEW CONFERENCE.
DA RIN'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON APPARENTLY DID LITTLE TO
DISABUSE GOI OF IDEA THAT, SOMEHOW, IT WILL BE AT TABLE.
OUR UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN THAT USG CONSIDERS ONLY FULL
PARTIES TO NPT CAN BE REPRESENTED, AND THAT NO DECISION HAS
BEEN TAKEN TO ALLOW OBSERVERS.

9. WITH A SCANT FOURTEEN WEEKS TO GO BEFORE REVIEW CON-
FERENCE, EMBASSY WISHES ASSURE WE AVOID FORESEEABLE POSSIBLE
CONTRETEMPS WITH GOI. WE ASSUME THAT POSSIBILITY OF
EXCLUSION FROM CONFERENCE IS OR WOULD BE FURTHER INDUCEMENT
TO GOI TO PUSH NPT INTO AND THROUGH PARLIAMENT. EVEN IF
DECISION IS TAKEN IN USG TO SUPPORT ATTENDANCE OF NON-
PARTIES, WE WOULD HOPE NOT TO HAND THAT CARD TO GOI UNTIL
LATEST APPROPRIATE MOMENT. WORST OF POSSIBLE OUTCOMES,
HOWEVER, WOULD BE FAILURE TO GIVE PROMPT WARNING TO GOI THAT
THE CHOICE IS ADHERENCE TO NPT OR SIT IN THE CORRIDOR DURING
THE CONFERENCE, SHOULD THAT BE THE DECISION. EMBASSY TRUSTS
THEREFORE THAT THIS QUESTION WILL SOON BE ADDRESSED AND THAT
WE WILL BE INFORMED OF OUTCOME. VOLPE

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